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HYGIEIA ON ACROPOLIS AND PALATINE

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HYGIEIA ON ACROPOLIS AND PALATINE.

(PLATES I-V)

By BERNARD ASHMOLE.

I. THE HEAD ON THE ACROPOLIS.

THERE is in the Acropolis Museum at Athens a battered and mutilated fragment of the head of a woman, which has twice been published as part of the Parthenon sculptures¹ (Pls. I. and II.). The remains of its fine surface and dark brown patina, resembling those which one finds in the Helios of the East pediment and other of the pediment figures, have, together with its high quality, allowed its claim to belong to that building to pass unquestioned. But it has no connection with the Parthenon, for its scale is too large for the metopes and too small for the pediments.² It must, then, be judged and assigned to a school by other means.

One notices at first glance a resemblance to the attractive head from the Palatine (Figs. 11, 13, 15 and 17-19),³ published by L. Curtius,⁴ who collected much relevant material. The Palatine head has passed from time to time as an original,

but Curtius' judgment, quoted below in full,⁵ is sound enough. Its left side (Fig. 19), especially, forbids one to put it any higher than a rather hard copy, perhaps of the time of Augustus or a little later.

There are two questions to ask about the relationship between the Acropolis fragment and this head from the Palatine. First, are they of the same type? And, second, is the Acropolis fragment the original of that type? In Figs. 1-15 and 17-19, and on pages 2, 3 and 4, will be found all the material (short of an actual set of casts) for forming a judgment on the first question. The correspondence of detail and of measurements is convincing; and in my own mind no doubt remains that the Acropolis head is of the Palatine type. The complete statue is given by the work known as the Hope Hygieia. Below is a summary of what we know of it and its relatives.

¹ B.M. *Parthenon*, Pl. 14A, No. 19. Casson, *Acropolis Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 69, No. 1223. Unrestored. Pentelic marble.

² For instance, the measurements of the neck of the so-called Pandrosos of the West pediment (I suppose, judging by the 'Carrey' drawings and the actual remains, the smallest of the women in the pediments) are '152 m. side to side; '155 m. back to front: as against the '13 m.; '135 m. of the Acropolis fragment. Two centimetres of difference. The scale of heads like the Laborde and the West pediment Athena is larger still. The necks of the figures in the metopes average not more than '10 m. in diameter.

It will be seen in the course of the argument that the Acropolis fragment differs also in style from the Parthenon sculptures.

³ Museo delle Terme, Helbig³, 1341.

⁴ *Jahrbuch*, XIX. (1904), p. 55 ff. (= Curtius).

⁵ Curtius, p. 66. "Aber er ist eine Kopie, wenn auch eine der vorzüglichsten, die wir besitzen. Zu einem Original fehlt noch ein gewisser Hauch, die Leichtigkeit der ersten Hand, der Reiz des eben erst Fertigen, eine gewisse geistreiche Unmittelbarkeit. Das Original muss in der Weichheit der Übergänge, in dem Duft der schwellenden Einzelform noch viel mehr gegeben haben. . . Hier ist alles überlegt, gar zu deutlich fertig. Die Mundwinkel sind gebohrt, die Unterlider setzen etwas hart ab. Bei einem Werk, das so abgetönt ist, spürt man das kleinste Zuviel; vielleicht kommt eine gewisse Strenge stärker zum Ausdruck, als sie dem Original eigen war."

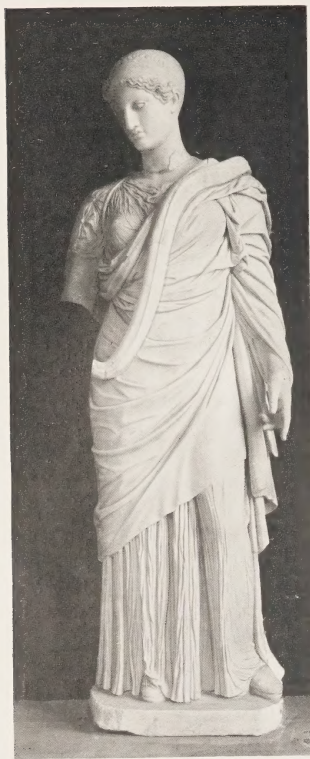


FIG. 16. THE HOPE STATUE OF HYGIEIA, FROM OSTIA
(Melchet, Hampshire).
(Restored r. forearm omitted.)

COPIES OF FULL SIZE.¹

(a) *Statue complete.* The Hope Hygieia. Found at Ostia; once in the Hope Collection at Deepdene in Surrey (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 282, No. 7), now in the collection of Sir Alfred Mond at Melchet in Hampshire (*Sale Catalogue, Christie, Manson and Woods*, July 1917, p. 41, No. 252 (plate)). Figs. 16 and 23-25.

¹ In the following lists details of measurement and marble are given where they supplement published descriptions. The head quoted in *Art and Archaeology*, XXII. No. 4 (Oct. 1926), p. 147, as a replica of the type, turns out not to be; so Dr. Shear has kindly informed me: (see now his article in *A.J.A.* XXX. (1926), p. 462, pl. VI.). As this goes to press Dr. Curtius has been good

Height (excl. plinth) 2.10 m. For other measurements see the table below.

Pentelic marble.

Restored: the glass eyes; most of the nose; some small patches where the head has been reset on the neck; right arm from above the elbow with phiale; left hand with the folds of the drapery round the outside of the wrist; several patches on the left arm, and the end of the himation behind it; patches also on the edge of the chiton to the left of the left foot. The front part of the snake to the point where it first touches the body is restored; then comes an antique piece about a foot long patched in front; above this is another restored section to a point just below the breasts: the remainder of the snake is antique. The head belongs to the body and is rightly set, since there is a touching surface at the back of the neck.

Copy, probably early Antonine; the most complete in this size.

(b) *Head.* Found in the so-called stadium on the Palatine; now in the Terme Museum (Helbig³, 1341). Figs. 17-19.

For measurements see the table below. Parian marble.

Restored (in plaster): the whole of the neck with the lower part of the right cheek (see Figs. 11-15 and 17-19). Back of head missing.

Copy, late Augustan (?).

(c) *Head.* Now at Vienna (von Sacken, *Antike Sculpturen in Wien*, p. 30, Pl. XII.; Curtius, p. 56, Figs. 3 and 4; Reinach, *Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique*, ii. p. 265 f., Fig. 424, who persists in the old identification as Sappho,² and suggests Cresilas as the sculptor of the original). Figs. 20-22.

For measurements see table below.

Parian or other island marble, of coarse grain.

Restored: the bust. Parts of the face have been worked over, especially on the left; so have the nose and the front of the right cheek. The marking of pupil and iris is modern.

Copy, apparently rather earlier than (a), Hadrianic (?), but rougher, and its character destroyed by the modern smoothing-down.

enough to send me photographs of (g), and of another replica in Petrograd brought to his notice by Dr. Waldhauer. From these it seems that (g) may be of full size. The other looks about as large as (r), and of like proportions, but rougher, and much simplified.

² See, however, *ib.*, p. 156.

(d) *Head*. Cloister of St. John Lateran. Figs. 26, 27. Pentelic marble. Unrestored but much weathered and rubbed (water-worn?). In spite of this it makes a favourable impression, and may well have been a copy of about the same quality as (b).

(e) *Double herm*. Villa Albani (Curtius, p. 66).

(f) *Fragment, upper part of head*. Found at Athens; now in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, vol. iii. p. 123, No. 1797). Figs. 28-30.

For measurements see table below.

Pentelic marble; polished yellow patina. Unrestored.

Copy, end of first century A.D. (?). Perhaps belonging to the torso (f): there is the same reckless use of the drill in both.

(f bis) *Torso*. Found near the Zappeion at Athens; now in the magazine of the National Museum, Athens (Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 717; Curtius, p. 71, Fig. 8).

Copy, end of first century A.D. (?). Perhaps belonging to (f), but, if I remember rightly, less highly polished.

(g) *Torso*. Messina (*Monumenti Antichi*, XXIV. (1916), p. 207, Fig. 52).

(h) *Torso*. Vatican Garden (Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 782). Snake on ground by right side.

STATUETTE COPIES.

(i) *Complete statuette*. Found at Epidauros; now in National Museum, Athens (Stais, *Marbres et Bronzes*, p. 97, No. 1810; Curtius, p. 65, Fig. 7. A new fragment, the lower part of the drapery and the feet, has been added since Curtius' photograph was taken). Tail of snake over left shoulder, and its head under right arm. Box in left hand: on the lid of it a *gorgoneion*, which may be simply apotropaic: but probably hints too at a connection with Athena, appropriate to the place in which I have below suggested that the original statue was set up. Drapery slightly simplified, as one expects in a small-scale copy; but fresh and pleasing, and perhaps the earliest of the copies.

(j) *Complete statuette*. Lansdowne House (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 439, No. 10). Fig. 31.

Height (excl. plinth) .95 m.; (of plinth) .05 m. Pentelic marble.

Unrestored. Head its own, but broken and reset (correctly). Broken across also at mid-

thigh. A curl has been added in front of each ear (a common trick of the copyist); the drapery on the left arm shows more of the forearm, and more hair appears behind the ears and at the back of the neck, than in other copies.

(k) *Torso*. Piraeus Museum. Box in left hand.

(l) *Torso*. Athens, Acropolis Museum magazine. Standing between Nos. 3027 and 2991 when I saw it in 1920; itself unnumbered.

Height .62 m. Unfinished.

(m) *Torso*. Rome, Cortile of the Museo delle Terme (Helbig³, 1253). No traces of snake.

(n) *Torso* (head modern). From Piazza Sciarra, Rome (Curtius, p. 71, Fig. 9).

(o) *Torso* (head modern). Rome, Palazzo Barberini (Matz-Duhn, No. 1508; Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 2897). Snake on ground by right side.

(p) *Torso*. Constantinople (Mendel, *Sculptures grecques, etc.* iii. p. 10, No. 808). Snake over right shoulder. Box in left hand: (Mendel supposes it a phiale summarily rendered; remarking that it is somewhat thick).

(q) *Torso*. Petrograd (Reinach, i. p. 293, 1176). Restored: head; r. arm from above, l. from below elbow; front half of snake; other patches. As a copy, like (a), but less careful and rather earlier. See note 1, p. 2.

(r) *Fragment, lower part of body*. Elgin Collection: therefore probably from Athens (*B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* iii. p. 202, No. 2065). Fig. 32 (right).

Pentelic marble. Patched with plaster on l. thigh. About life size. Careless but lively work. In spite of the statement in the British Museum Catalogue, the mark on the body can hardly be that of anything but the snake. To this fragment may belong *B.M. Cat. Sculpt.* iii. p. 75, No. 1698. Fig. 32 (left). If so, the presence of the snake is proved.

DERIVATIVES.

(1) *Head*. From the Asklepieion, south slope of the Acropolis (Kavvadias, *Γλυπτὰ τ. Ἐθν. Μουσ.*, p. 162, No. 186); now in National Museum, Athens (Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 647-9; Curtius, p. 57, Fig. 5).

Reversed and otherwise modified; but Hygieia still, from the provenience.

(2) *Torso, statuette*. Formerly in Rome; now in the collection of Sir Alfred Mond, Melchet (Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 817; Curtius, p. 76, Fig. 11).

MEASUREMENTS OF THE LARGE REPLICAS.¹

	Acropolis. (Acropolis)	Terme. (Palatine)	Brit. Mus. (Athens)	Vienna (Pro- vidence unknown)	Hope. (Ostia)
	(b)	(f)	(c)	(a)	
1. Breadth of face immediately below ear.	·15	·149	—	·149	·155
2. Inner corner of right eye to right corner of mouth.	·073	·071	—	·071	·073
3. Inner corner of right eye to left corner of mouth.	·085	·083	—	·083	·086
4. Breadth across nose (from inner eye-angles).	·039	·0335	·0355	·039	·043*
5. Right ear.	·059	·0585	—	·06	·059
6. Mouth.	·043	·041/2	—	·0475	·046/7
7. Right eye:					
(a) Length (excl. lids).	·0368	·0362	·032	·037	·038
(b) Length (excl. lids; incl. curve of eyeball).	·04	·04	—	—	—
(c) (Height excl. lids).	·013	·013	·012	·011	·015*

* Edges of eyes perhaps recut.

¹ Notes on the copies. A written comparison of detail is not necessary, since the photographs speak for themselves. In the measurements we can afford to disregard variations up to a millimetre or so. The Acropolis head does not differ more from the undoubted replicas than do the undoubted replicas from one another. But the general correspondence of measurements between all the pieces cited is undeniable. How discrepancies both of measurement and detail arise may be understood when one considers the difference between ancient and modern methods of copying, as well as that between the purposes of copies then and now. The modern copyist works mechanically, normally on behalf of the sculptor of the original (usually a plaster cast from clay) which is being copied; and takes as many 'points' as he considers necessary, often hundreds on a head only, in order to ensure that the copy is a mechanically accurate one. The ancient copyist worked for a patron who was not likely to check measurements, and who sometimes did not even know the original himself. The copyist making a full-size copy seems to have had a cast, perhaps even the cast of a copy only, in coarse gypsum: sometimes, too, only of part of the statue, e.g. a mask when he was copying a head, since there is no evidence for piece-moulds; and for the body perhaps a model of smaller scale. He was, in short, given greater freedom, and his mechanical appliances being less perfect, he naturally trusted more to his eye and took far fewer points than does the modern. The result, which can be seen in comparing and measuring any series of copies from a known original, is that the character and taste of the copyist appear in the copy. Thus an artistically good copy, inaccurate in measurements, may give more of the spirit of the original than a more mechanically accurate one by a third-rate copyist. This does not alter the fact that if

perfect mechanical accuracy could be obtained, the copy could only differ from the original in texture, and would therefore probably be in most cases indistinguishable from it. Apart from alteration of style or deliberate addition of detail, one constantly finds discrepancies in detail or measurements where the copyist has nodded. He misunderstood the original or copied a copy which misunderstood it: his cast was incomplete: he cut too far, or did not trouble to cut far enough: he made the measurements of separate parts correct but their relative position wrong—all these accidents may cause an inaccurate reproduction of the original. The 'lock for lock' theory, that is, the dogma that the lay-out of comparatively unimportant parts such as the hair must correspond before we can say that any one head is a replica of another, has to be intelligently applied if it is not to lead one to deny that any ancient work has a replica. In fact one is never absolved from using one's judgment.

To take an example from the present series of copies: in the Hope Hygieia (a), an admitted replica of the type, we find on the right, between the forehead fringe and the projecting wave of hair across the middle of the head, an additional line on the hair-band which does not occur in either (b), (c), or (f). Nor does it occur in the Acropolis fragment.

The copyist using a cast not made by piece-mould is not quite certain how his component parts join, and his cast does not reproduce undercut hollows. Is it too fanciful to suggest that these are the reasons why the cross-tendon which one sees in the ear of the Acropolis head is not reproduced in either the Vienna or Palatine heads, and why there is a muddled part behind the ear of the last-named, where a mass which is neither hair nor hair-band is allowed to interrupt without reason a line representing a fold or edge of the hair-band running up towards the ear from below?

Illuminating is the different stylisation of the hair in every copy; and indeed, on the whole, any differences there may be are differences not of design but of execution.

(b) and (c) are of Greek island marble and were therefore perhaps not made in Athens.

The original position of the snake seems to have been roughly that of (a), the variations being due to a desire to economise marble, and the total omission in the reliefs (Fig. 33 and note 2, p. 6) to mere neglect. Was this attribute, and the cord over the right shoulder, of bronze in the original?

The box in the left hand seems to have been there in the original, since it is given in the only two copies where the hand is preserved, (i) and (k); cf. also (p). It is curious, but I think no more than a coincidence, that the statuette copies (i) and (j) both omit the cord over the right shoulder and emphasise the folds beneath and outside the right breast: in (j) one of them is so stiff as to resemble a cord.

There is always present the possibility that in the Acropolis fragment we have a piece of an original closely related to another now lost, and that some of the copies derive from one, some from the other. But taking into account all the evidence, my own view that the Acropolis fragment is the original of all the copies has, I think, greater probability.

The second question (now amplified), 'Is the Acropolis fragment a fragment of the original statue to which the Hope Hygieia and the other replicas go back?' is less easy to answer categorically. The external evidence is slender, but strong enough so far as it goes; for our fragment was found, if we may trust the imperfect records, actually on the Acropolis.¹ The fragment (*r*), the full-sized torso (*f bis*) and the fragmentary head (*f*) were also found at Athens. The date of the last two is important. From the execution it can hardly be earlier than the end of the first century A.D. The finding in the eastern Mediterranean of a Roman copy of a Greek work probably means that the original remained in the eastern Mediterranean until at least the time when that copy was made.² Thus the original of the Hygieia was in the eastern Mediterranean until the end of the first century. And probably in Athens; for the small torso (*l*) was, so far as one can tell from the records, again found on the Acropolis itself.³ Its unfinished condition is significant; for one can only imagine that it was actually being copied from the original which stood

there when something happened, we do not know what, to put a stop to the work. And the original then being copied was, I submit, that statue of which our fragment once formed a part.

The internal evidence for believing the Acropolis head a fragment of the original is yet stronger than the external, in my own judgment: though there is room for a difference of opinion here, according to the individual view of what a Greek original should be like. The only way of showing that it is not merely an addition to our series of copies is to put it among the copies (Figs. 10-15 and 17-30), where it stands out, for all its mutilation, fresh, soft, and incomparably delicate in its transitions. One sees how the copyist plotted out the Palatine head, executed it with all the precision he could, and produced a mathematical exercise, hard, and almost cold.⁴ Yet the Palatine head is, except the Epidauros statuette, the best of the series. The Hope, Vienna and British Museum pieces are indeed from the same original, since their measurements and superficial design agree

¹ I can find no part of the body of the statue among the marbles from the Acropolis in the British Museum, and have not been able to search for fragments of it in Athens itself.

² Cf. Lippold, *Umbildungen*, p. 45. The finding in Greek lands of even a full-sized copy in the same city as the original is not uncommon: cf. note 2, p. 6 below, where it is clear that the original of the Asclepius mentioned was in Athens, by its appearance on Athenian coins. The fragment in the British Museum (*Cat. Sculpt.* ii. p. 208, No. 1314), which seems to be a copy of the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, comes from the sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus.

³ It is improbable that a copy in one city in Greece which had replaced an original carried off to Rome would be cast in order that it might be copied in another Greek city. Nor is it likely that a cast of the original then in Rome would be sent back to the bereaved city or to any other part of Greece in order that other copies might be made for ordinary trade purposes.

From this it seems to follow that when one finds an unfinished copy in Greece the original was in Greek lands at the time of the making of the copy.

Can one further deduce that when an unfinished copy is found in Athens the original was in Athens? Not necessarily,

since Athens was probably a centre for the copying of works of art from almost anywhere in the Greek world. But the present case offers other premises, since this unfinished statuette copy seems to have been found on the Acropolis. This surely indicates that the original was on the Acropolis; one can hardly imagine any other reason for a copyist working there. To-day one often sees small copies, but naturally never full-sized ones, being made from large statues in museums.

It is, however, possible that copies of copies were made in Athens, as they well may have been in Rome. One might suppose that sometimes in Athens the original had been removed and replaced by a copy; and that that copy may have itself been copied, in the absence of the original.

⁴ See Figs. 1-15 and 17-19. In the Acropolis head the folds and edges of the hair-band are rendered with greater decision, and the hair under it is well suggested, as by one who was accustomed to seeing it worn so. Throughout, one is reminded strongly of the qualities postulated by Curtius for the lost original (see note 5, p. 1). In order to realise what the copy has lost while preserving the main measurements and design, one has only to compare the rendering of the eye, lid, brow, and surroundings. No trace in the Acropolis fragment of the drill-holes which disfigure, however slightly, the ends of the mouth in the Palatine head.

sufficiently well with each other and with the Palatine head. But what they tell us of the original sculptor's touch is negligible, and even misleading.

To write more would be useless, since if the Acropolis head is not the original, no apologetic will make it so. It carries its own patent, and appreciation of it as a work of art can alone bring conviction. In the remainder of this article I therefore take as hypothesis that it is not only of the Hope type, but is actually the original¹ from which the Hope statue and the whole series derive.

II. THE DEDICATION.

The provenience of the fragment (and we must remember that the provenience of many of the pieces in the Acropolis Museum and its magazine is not quite certain) suggests that the original statue was first dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens, and the meagre external evidence confirms the suggestion. When we realise that it stood on the Acropolis itself and not in the great shrine of Asclepius about the cave on the south slope, we hit on the explanation of another

phenomenon: the rare occurrence of this Hope Hygieia type on votive reliefs. Votive offerings normally were made where there was ample room for them, in the great south slope shrine, undoubtedly the most popular one. There is, however, a relief in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Fig. 33) where Hygieia of the Hope type accompanies an Athenian fifth-century type of Asclepius.² The marble is Pentelic and the relief itself comes from Athens.

We have, then, traced the statue down to Athens and to the Acropolis. We can, I think, go further still. Pausanias (and for our present purpose his date, as late as the second century A.D., is of importance) gives the following account of a little precinct near the south-east corner of the Propylaea (Fig. 34):³—'Τοῦ δὲ Διυτρέφους πλυσίον, τὰς γὰρ εἰκόνας τὰς ἀφανιστέρας γράφειν οὐκ ἐθέλω, θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν Ὑγίαια τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγίαια.'

'Near the statue of Diitrephes (for I do not wish to mention the obscure statues) are images of gods—one of Hygieia, who is said to be a daughter of Asclepius, and one of Athena, who is also surnamed Hygieia.'

¹ I can find no representation of this statue either on the New Style tetradrachms or on the Imperial bronze coins of Athens. This negative evidence does not weaken the claim here put forward, since only a small proportion of the statues in Athens appear on coins. The evidence of copies, derivative (No. (1), p. 3), and reliefs (cf. note 2) all points to an original in Athens even if not on the Acropolis.

One serious objection to the Acropolis theory is that the fragment, though battered, does not show such signs of weathering as, for example, the exposed parts of the Parthenon pediments. Seven hundred years or so is the minimum period, on our hypothesis of where it stood, during which this head must have been exposed to the weather; and there was probably no shelter of any kind. It is true, however, that many of the figures on the Parthenon have been exposed (perhaps less to rain but more to wind) for over two thousand years. The resistant quality of polished Pentelic marble is high. The polish plays an important part, and deterioration takes place more quickly when the surface is gone.

² Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 249, No. 16. Another

relief at Athens reproduces the same Asclepius with what may be the same Hygieia (Walter, *Beschreibung d. Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum*, p. 52, no. 88). With torso (*fbis*), too, was found a torso of the same Asclepius (Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen*, No. 717/8). This juxtaposition can hardly be more than a coincidence due to arbitrary choice by copyists.

³ Pausanias, i. 23. 4. The explanation of Hygieia's parentage, as well as the avowed intention of a moment before to mention only the notable statues, puts out of court any supposition that Pausanias is here speaking of the statue, probably an empress deified, which once stood on the still surviving base inscribed Σεβαστη Υγεια (*sic*). Such honorary statues of late date and great commonness would hardly have interested the antiquarian Pausanias.

Plutarch, *Vit. x Orat.* p. 839d, also mentions the statue. The following paragraphs are drawn almost verbatim from Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. ii. p. 277 ff., and Weller's *Athens and its Monuments*, p. 252 ff., which also furnishes, by kind permission of the author and of the Macmillan Company, the plan of the precinct of Hygieia (Fig. 34).

The base of the Athena-Hygieia (Fig. 34, c) stands against the south-east corner column of the Propylaea. The statue itself, a work of the sculptor Pyrrhus, cannot¹ have been of the Hope Hygieia type and so that to which our fragment belonged: first, because the date of the dedication is too early for the style of our fragment; second, because the marks of attachment on the base show that the free left foot was well behind the right, not nearly level as in the Hope Hygieia type.

Now Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, tells us that

than the western side of the basement, a portion of the altar itself, no doubt the one mentioned by Plutarch, is still preserved. From the position of this altar proper, nearer the eastern than the western side of the basement, it appears that the priest stood on the western side of it, facing east. It shows, in short, that the worshipped statue of the goddess, if there was one, must have been situated to the east of the altar, and cannot have been the statue made by Pyrrhus, otherwise the priest in sacrificing would have had his back to the goddess. This altar was an exceedingly

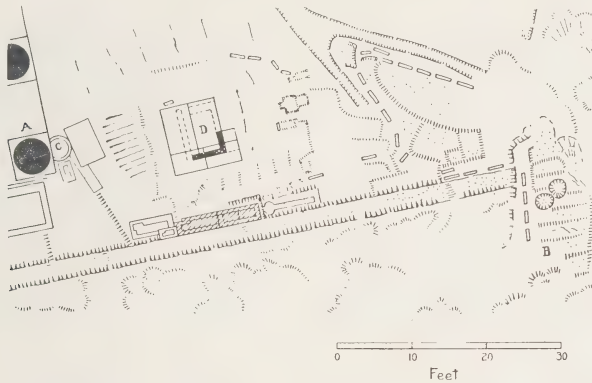


FIG. 34. PRECINCT OF HYGIEIA ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

this statue of Athena-Hygieia was set up beside a previously existing altar of the goddess.² Less than four yards to the east of the pedestal of Pyrrhus' statue are still to be seen the marble foundations of an altar (Fig. 34, d), consisting of a square basement or step; and, nearer to the eastern

early foundation, and at first probably had no statue; for Aristides, like Plutarch, says that 'the most ancient of the Athenians founded an altar to Health-Athena.'³ And yet, although there was on this supposition no statue to the east of that altar in the time of Pericles, Pyrrhus'

¹ Whether we identify it with the Farnese type or not: (Naples, *Guida Ruesch*, p. 41, no. 133). It was of bronze (Plutarch, *l.c. infra*).

² *Pericles*, 13.

³ Aristides, *Or. ii.* (vol. i. p. 22, ed. Dindorf). One might suggest that the dedication of a statue of Health independent both of Asclepius and of Athena came some years later than

the introduction of the cult of Asclepius and Health to the southern slope from Epidaurus in 420 B.C. If so, it was a characteristic act of early fourth-century Athens, which set up a group of Wealth in the arms of Peace. Thinly-veiled materialistic gods, these. It is suggested below, on other grounds, that the Hope Hygieia type dates from the first quarter of the fourth century.

Athena-Hygieia was naturally placed to the west rather than to the east, because it marked a particular spot where the slave fell from the roof of the Propylaea.

I suggest that on the east of the altar there stood until at least the time of Pausanias, who thought it worthy of mention, stood, not until it was carried off, but until it was broken and thrown down, the statue of Hygieia of which our fragment is a survival.

III. THE SCULPTOR.

The most valuable criterion of date, as commonly when one deals with an original, is the style. Probably by an Athenian artist, since dedicated in Athens; later than the Parthenon, as a comparison with any of the heads from that building will show; with a slight touch of sentiment which seems foreign to them: what we have before us is a head with something of the plumpness of the Erechtheum Caryatids: with a reminiscence, shall we say, of them and of the Acropolis Procne. Or, one might argue, not a reminiscence, but a parallel. In either case the date suggested by the analogy is late in the fifth century at earliest. On the other side, as a *terminus ante quem* in Athens, we have the work of Praxiteles. Study the conformation of the eye and its surrounding parts (Figs. 7-9) and you see nothing of the Praxitelean shape, like a bay-leaf slightly twisted, which was certainly in full fashion by 350, but a straight almond-shaped eye, outer corner level with inner; deeply set, but perhaps not so deeply as the Praxitelean, and less overhung at its outer corner; finished with just as exquisite a care; the eyeball prominent; the brow soft but not fleshy. This is what one expects during the transition from fifth to fourth century, and finds (so far as one can judge when there are only copies to go by) in some of the

work by Cephisodotus. The present head does indeed show affinity with him, and although I do not think it his, we shall not be far wrong in assigning it to his period, the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Now, turning to the complete statue and looking at the two figures (Figs. 37, 38), the one the Hope Hygieia,¹ the other the tolerable Munich copy of the Eirene of Cephisodotus (the original of which was made, we suppose, at the end of the first quarter of the fourth century), we see that not only the dress itself but the sculptural motives of the dress are different. The one wears a heavy, smooth, Doric peplos with himation hung behind, the other a lighter, crinkled Ionic chiton with himation wrapped over. But a closer examination discovers similarities of an essential kind. If one thinks away the difference of material and compares closely the actual scheme of drapery about the lower part of the legs (Fig. 35),² one finds that it amounts almost to a simple reversal. A group of three or four narrow vertical folds on the outside of the supporting leg; two (splitting into three) over the supporting leg itself, the toe of which projects; a heavy mass between the legs composed in both of a broad fold and a narrow one slightly behind it; a heavy fold falling from the knee of the free leg, tapering, and then expanding again to fall just inside the foot, to sweep up over it and to cling, a subsidiary fold or two between, to the outer side of the calf. Finally, this outline of the leg framed at the upper part of the thigh by the himation, below this by the chiton, in both statues. This kind of drapery arrangement, an elaboration of the simple, explanatory scheme of the second half of the fifth century (contours of free leg shown by clinging drapery—supporting leg covered by columnar folds), is common in the time of the youth of Praxiteles,³ but there is no

¹ Remembering that it is a copy, and its date as a copy.

² For convenience I use here an illustration of the New York copy of Eirene. The comparison, of course, holds good with the Munich copy (Fig. 37).

³ Compare, for example, the Dresden Artemis and the type of the bronze Athena of the Archaeological Museum at Florence.

closer parallel to the Hope Hygieia than the Eirene of Cephisodotus. With this scheme of drapery is intimately connected the ponderation of the figures, and this again, except for the arms, is virtually a reversal, as well in the body as in the head. Passing from the pose to the general conception we may remark a characteristic of this period which is apparent in both.¹ In the Eirene, as in the Hygieia, one has a feeling of the posing of the figure and the draping of material upon it. Again I do not mean to assert that the original of the Hygieia was by Cephisodotus; but considering the similarity

Putting the four relevant types together (Figs. 36*a, b*; 37, 38), and speaking generally, we may remark, in addition to the careful study of pose and draping of material, a certain amount of experiment, characteristic of the late fifth and early fourth century, with the turning, inclining and bending forward of the heads.

A more particular comparison brings out between Kore and Hygieia (Figs. 36*a*, 38) a closely similar feeling for the himation wrapped fairly tightly over the chiton, and for the forms of the body through the drapery; similarity in the detail of the drapery itself, the chiton bunched

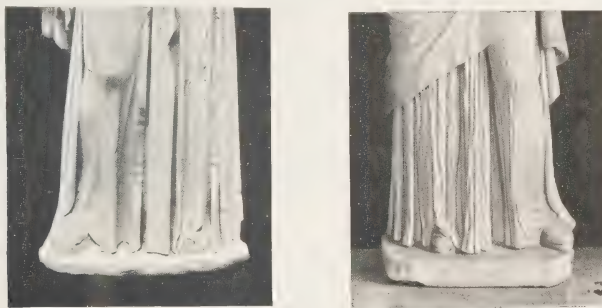


FIG. 35. THE LOWER PART OF A STATUE OF EIRENE (New York) COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE HOPE HYGIEIA.

of general conception and even of detail, we can postulate for it and the Eirene an almost exact contemporaneity.

It is not in the least surprising, after what we have just seen, to find, on the relief of Kore, Triptolemus and Demeter (Fig. 36) found at Eleusis, which seems to reproduce a group in the round, a figure very like the Hope Hygieia associated with a figure very like the Eirene.

under the left arm and the cord holding the chiton on the shoulder, which were fashions of these years perhaps. The poise of the head, the pose of body, shoulders, legs and feet are simply reversed, except that the left shoulder is more raised in Hygieia than in Kore. Only the arms differ. This similarity has been emphasised by other writers and may, I think, be taken as granted.²

¹ The art of about a century before this produced a number of renderings, observed directly from nature, of the female body clad in the Doric peplos. The progress of the fifth century saw successive refinements of the motive until, at the end of it and the beginning of the next, the peplos becomes a transparent garment revealing more than it conceals of the form beneath. With Cephisodotus comes a reaction to the earlier ideal, accompanied by a certain loss of spontaneity. The

statue is no longer an inspired representation, largely from memory, of a woman wearing clothes and moving freely and naturally in them, but a careful study of carefully placed drapery on a posed model.

² Amelung has already shown, in his article on the Mantinea Basis, how certain of the types created now—for example, this Kore type of the Eleusis relief—were used afterwards in the Praxitelean school.

Between Demeter and Eirene (Figs. 36 *b*, 37) there is no essential difference except the reversal of all the motives and the veiling of the head of Demeter. Again the resemblance in the

complete difference in the clothes worn does not conceal the close resemblance in pose. The right arm is raised and supported in each, the left arm lowered and bent at the elbow (but carrying



FIG. 36. (a) KORE

(b) DEMETER

(Eleusis).



FIG. 37. EIRENE (Munich).



FIG. 38. HYGIEIA (Melchet).

arrangement of drapery round the legs which we have noticed in the comparison between Eirene and Hygieia, with a slight variation in the heavy fold below the knee of the free leg.

Between Kore and Eirene (Figs. 36 *a*, 37) the

a weight in one): the left leg the supporting one: the left hip and right knee forward: the right foot placed to the side (a shade more by Kore than by Eirene): the head turned to left, inclined to left, and bent forward in both.

It follows from the comparisons made above

that there is between Demeter and Hygieia (Figs. 36 *b*, 38) a close agreement; and here no reversal. The left arm, however, is raised in one, lowered in the other; but the right lower arm is stretched out in each. The pose otherwise is virtually the same: the arrangement of the drapery round the legs the same, and, as a sculptural motive, seen in spite of the difference of dress, the masking of the left breast in order to emphasise the right.

The inference is that Hygieia, Eirene, Kore and Demeter were by contemporary and closely related artists; the greater probability that the group reproduced on the Eleusis relief was made by the sculptor of the original of the Hygieia; the less, that it was made by the sculptor of the

original of the Eirene, Cephisodotus; unless indeed those two sculptors be identical.¹

I wish to thank Dr. Amelung for drawing my attention to the head in the Lateran cloister (*d*), and the German Archaeological Institute for their photograph of it, which I reproduce; Mr. M. A. Sisson and Dr. G. A. Snijder for measurements; Dr. F. Eichler for measurements and other details; Comm. R. Paribeni and Miss Winifred Lamb for permission to measure the head in the Terme Museum and to photograph the relief at Cambridge; Mr. A. M. Woodward for a cast; the staff of the British Museum Greek Antiquities Department and Coin Department for unfailing kindness; Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. Gordon Selfridge for allowing me to photograph and study at Melchet and Lansdowne House. I find it hard to express to my wife, to Mr. John Marshall and to Professor J. D. Beazley my gratitude for their constant help.

¹ Of that we shall be better able to judge when an original by Cephisodotus is discovered.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

FRAGMENT OF HEAD IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM AT ATHENS
(FIG. 1 FROM A CAST; FIGS. 2 AND 3 FROM THE ORIGINAL)



FIG. 6

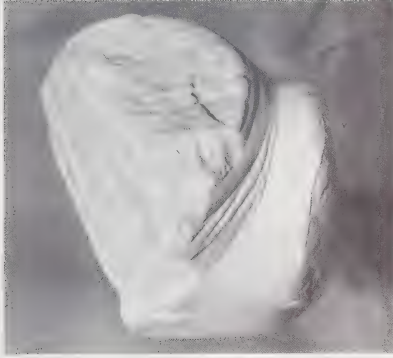


FIG. 5

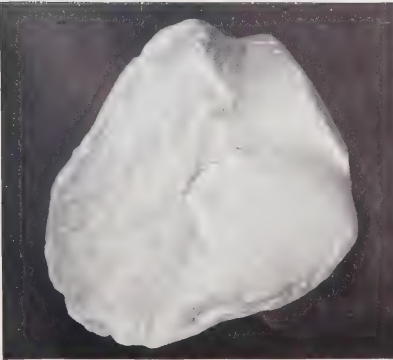


FIG. 4

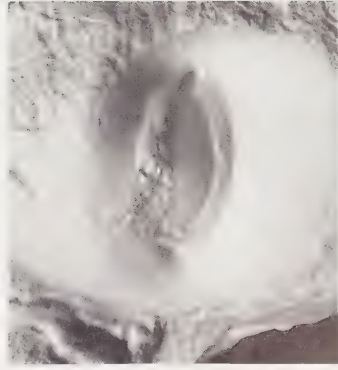


FIG. 9



FIG. 8



FIG. 7

FRAGMENT OF HEAD IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM AT ATHENS
(FROM A CAST)



FIG. 10

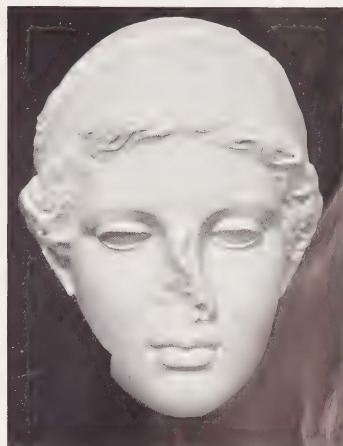


FIG. 11

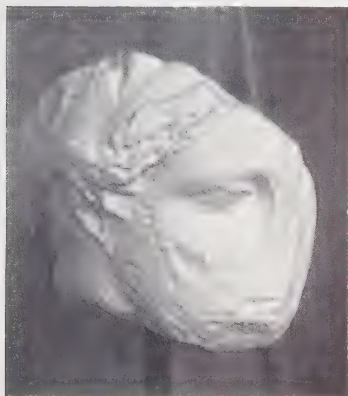


FIG 12

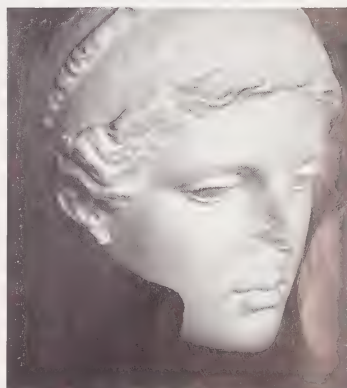


FIG 13



FIG. 14



FIG. 15

THE ACROPOLIS HEAD (FIGS. 10, 12, 14) COMPARED WITH THAT FROM THE
PALATINE (FIGS. 11, 13, 15: RESTORATIONS OMITTED)
(FROM CASTS)



FIG. 17



FIG. 18



FIG. 19

HEAD IN THE TERME MUSEUM (FROM THE PALATINE)



FIG. 20



FIG. 21



FIG. 22

HEAD AT VIENNA

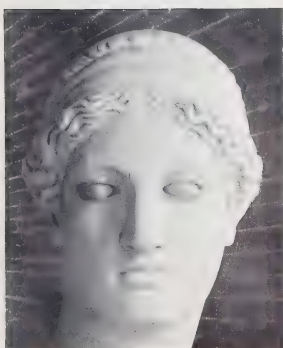


FIG. 23



FIG. 24

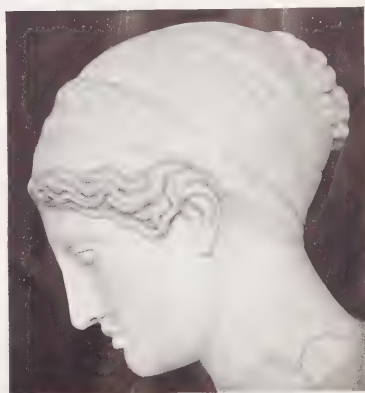


FIG. 25

HEAD OF THE HOPE STATUE (FROM OSTIA)

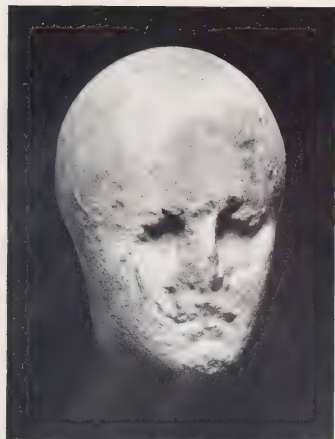


FIG. 26



FIG. 27

HEAD IN THE CLOISTER OF ST. JOHN LATERAN



FIG. 28



FIG. 29

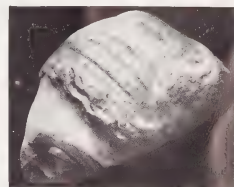


FIG. 30

FRAGMENT OF HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (FROM ATHENS)



FIG. 31

LANSDOWNE HOUSE



FIG. 32

BRITISH MUSEUM
(FROM ATHENS)



FIG. 33

FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE
(FROM ATHENS)

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